

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09476 01 OF 02 152039Z

70

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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R 151843Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 604

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9476

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM USREP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: ROMANIAN STATEMENT AT 15 NOVEMBER  
PLENARY

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT PRESENTED BY ROMANIAN REP (ANINOIUL  
AT 15 NOVEMBER 73 PLENARY.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. IN ITS GENERAL STATEMENT OF 16TH MAY 1973, AT  
THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION  
POINTED OUT THAT THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA CONSIDERED THAT  
ANY POLITICAL OR MILITARY MEASURE ENVISAGED IN EUROPE SHOULD NOT BE  
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 09476 01 OF 02 152039Z

DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER STATE OR CONTINENT AND SHOULD NOT ENDANGER

THE SECURITY OF OTHER STATES, OR OF OTHER AREAS OR OF OTHER CONTINENTS. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY, MEASURES OF THIS KIND MUST SCRU- PULOUSLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LAWFUL RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OF ALL REGIONS AND CONTINENTS, AND SHOULD BE A GENUINE CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY FOR EACH STATE PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR ALL EUROPEAN STATES AND THE WHOLE WORLD.

2. ROMANIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN OF THE OPINION THAT ANY MEASURE OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING THE REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE OR ONLY IN A SPECIFIC AREA OF EUROPE, IS OF INTEREST TO ALL EUROPEAN STATES, SINCE IT HAS, INDEED, IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR SECURITY AND CONCERNS THE SECURITY OF EACH. THIS IS THE REASON WHY THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION HAS STATED, FROM THE BEGINNING OF OUR MEETINGS IN THE CAPITAL OF AUSTRIA, THAT ALL THE STATES OF THE CONTINENT HAVE AND MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS AND TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWPOINTS AND DEFEND THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AND, ACCORDINGLY, PROPER CONDITIONS SHOULD BE CREATED FOR THEM TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT EFFECTIVELY.

3. ASSOCIATING ALL EUROPEAN STATES, WHO SO DESIRE, WITH OUR DIS- CUSSIONS, IN AN APPROPRIATE WAY, WOULD, IN OUR FIRM CONVICTION, INCREASE THEIR SUBSTANCE AND ENHANCE THE VALUE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE FO THE RESULTS WE AIM TO ACHIEVE. SUCH A MODAILITY OF WORK WOULD CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR NO ONE AND WOULD PRESENT OBVIOUS AD- VANTAGES TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES. THIS WOULD ALSO BE THE BEST PROOF THAT THE AGREEMENTS WHICH WOULD BE REACHED AMONG SOME EUROPEAN STATES WILL NOT DIRECTED AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES AND THAT THEY WILL BE INDEED A CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF THE WHOLE OF EUROPE.

4. IT IS WELL-KNOWN THAT SOME EUROPEAN STATES WHICH ARE NOT TAKING PART IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED - EVEN DURING THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS THEIR INTEREST IN BEING INFORMED ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF OUR WORK. THIS DESIRE HAS BEEN OPENLY EXPRESSED ALSO IN

THE COURSE OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, NOW TAKING PLACE IN GENEVA.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 09476 01 OF 02 152039Z

5. REPRESENTATIVES OF SOME EUROPEAN STATES WHICH ARE NOT TAKING PART IN OUR PROCEEDINGS HAVE EXPRESSED, OFFICIALLY OR UNOFFICIALLY, THEIR CONCERN THAT POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS RELATED TO CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD NOT AFFECT, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, THE INTERESTS AND SECURITY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE AREA OR OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

6. THESE PREOCCUPATIONS ARE INDEED NATURAL,

BECAUSE NATIONAL SECURITY IS OF PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE FOR ANY STATE. BY ITS VERY NATURE, SECURITY REPRESENTS A FUNDAMENTAL ATTRIBUTE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND A GUARANTEE THAT STATES MAY REALIZE THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO ACT AS INDEPENDENT ENTITIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SECURITY IS, AT THE SAME TIME, A FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE FOR THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH PEOPLE AND A DECISIVE FACTOR FOR MATERIALIZING THE INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT OF EACH NATION TO DECIDE ITSELF ITS DESTINY, AND TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO ITS OWN WILL AND ASPIRATIONS.

7. THE RIGHT TO PEACE AND SECURITY FORMS AN INHERENT PART OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF ANY NATION. THIS BEING SO, IT FOLLOWS THAT ANY SYSTEM FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION CANNOT

BE REGARDED AS DURABLE - AND, FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW IT CANNOT BE REGARDED AS COMPLYING WITH THE ETHICAL AND JURIDICAL IMPERATIVES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATES - UNLESS IT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT ANY COUNTRY SHOULD BE EQUALLY ABLE TO ENJOY THIS RIGHT. IT FOLLOWS LOGICALLY THAT ANY NEGOTIATIONS AND MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENTS, EITHER IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE OR ONLY IN ONE ZONE OF EUROPE, SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO AN ANALYSIS WHICH SHOULD PROVE ITS CONFORMITY WITH THIS FUNDAMENTAL CRITERION AND REFLECT THE EQUAL RIGHT TO SECURITY OF ALL THE STATES OF THE CONTINENT AND OF EACH STATE INDIVIDUALLY.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

8. THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE NECESSITY TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY - AS THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - TO ALL THE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN VIENNA, AS WELL AS  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 VIENNA 09476 01 OF 02 152039Z

TO ALL THE OTHER STATES OF THE CONTINENT, WERE EXPRESSED BY THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION BOTH AT THE PLENARY MEETINGS OF 17TH MAY AND 28 JUNE THIS YEAR, AND IN THE GENERAL STATEMENT OF 30TH OCTOBER THIS YEAR. ON THESE OCCASIONS, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION STRESSED ALSO THE NECESSITY TO INVITE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS, WITHIN A FRAMEWORK WHICH WILL BE AGREED, THE OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 09476 02 OF 02 152100Z

70

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9476

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM USREP MBFR

9. THE FACT THAT THESE IDEAS HAVE BEEN SHARED  
BY A GREAT NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS AND HAVE BEEN MENTIONED  
IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IN ALMOST ALL THE STATEMENTS MADE  
DURING OUR FIRST PLENARY MEETINGS HAS GIVEN US A PARTICULAR  
SATISFACTION. WE HAVE NOTED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE  
STATEMENTS OF SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES THAT  
THE MEASURES WHICH ARE TO BE ADOPTED SHOULD NOT "DIMINISH  
THE SECURITY OF THE STATES PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS OR  
INDEED OF ANY OTHER STATES". SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HAVE ALSO  
EMPHASIZED THE IDEA THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS OR AGREEMENTS  
WHICH WILL BE REACHED ON CENTRAL EUROPE "SHOULD NOT EN-  
DANGER THE SITUATION IN OTHER REGIONS OF OUR CONTINENT",  
"MUST NOT RESULT IN DIMINISHED SECURITY FOR OTHER PARTS  
OF EUROPE" AND "SHOULD NOT YIELD CONSEQUENCES WHICH MIGHT  
DECREASE THE SECURITY OF OTHER COUNTRIES". AS A MATTER OF  
FACT, THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREPARATORY CONSULTA-  
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 09476 02 OF 02 152100Z

TIONS, ISSUED ON 28TH JUNE THIS YEAR, CONFIRMS THE FACT  
THAT "IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THESE

NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE". SEVERAL SPEAKERS HAVE POINTED OUT THAT WE SHOULD VIEW THE PROCESS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS" IN A WIDER EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE", THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS "WILL HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE OVERALL SECURITY SITUATION IN EUROPE" AND THAT THE MATTERS WE ARE DISCUSSING "WILL BE OF CONCERN ALSO TO OTHER EUROPEAN STATES".

10. IT IS WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST THAT WE HAVE TAKEN COGNIZANCE OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF THE USSR, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, WHICH ALSO EMPHASIZES, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE FACT THAT "THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN CENTRAL EUROPE ... ARE IN NO WAY DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRIES OR THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS". THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION CONSIDERS AS POSITIVE THE FACT THAT THE FOUR DELEGATIONS SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION A DOCUMENT INTENDED TO DIRECT OUR TALKS TOWARDS THE QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION IS CAREFULLY STUDYING ALSO THE OTHER IDEAS AND PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE STATEMENTS OF ALL THE OTHER DELEGATIONS AND, ON THE BASIS OF THE POSITION OF PRINCIPLE HELD BY ROMANIA ON QUESTIONS OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE, WILL EXPRESS ITS VIEWPOINT IN THE COURSE OF OUR FUTURE PLENARY MEETINGS.

11. AS A COROLLARY OF THE ABOVE ASSESSMENT, A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING THE DELEGATION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA, HAVE REITERATED, IN THEIR STATEMENTS AT THE RECENT PLENARY MEETINGS, THE NECESSITY OF INVITING TO OUR DISCUSSIONS, IN A FRAMEWORK WHICH WILL BE AGREED UPON, THE OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES, IN ORDER TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWPOINTS AND DEFEND THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE POSSIBILITY OF RAISING THE QUESTION OF INVITING OTHER EUROPEAN STATES TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS TIPULATED IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 09476 02 OF 02 152100Z

RECORD OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS HELD ON 14TH MAY THIS YEAR.

12. IN THE OPINION OF OUR DELEGATION, IT IS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE AND SATISFACTORILY SOLVE THIS QUESTION, SO THAT THE INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES COULD MAKE THEIR OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE INTEREST OF ALL STATES AND OF ALL AREAS OF EUROPE. OUR TALKS WOULD MOST CERTAINLY BENEFIT BY INVITING

OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES TO TAKE PART IN THE  
PROCEEDINGS. END TEXT.HUMES

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